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NOT “JUST ANOTHER DEAD HOOKER”:  
INVESTIGATING MEN’S ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN THE SEX INDUSTRY

By

Dusty J. Johnstone

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of Psychology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Arts at the  
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## ABSTRACT

This study examined men's attitudes towards women in different occupations within the sex industry, and whether their attitudes were predictive of their indirect endorsement of violence against these women. Ninety-four men from the University of Windsor participated in the study and it was found that their attitudes towards women in the sex industry fall along a continuum of negativity that parallels the risk for violence experienced by these women. That is, men demonstrated the most negative attitudes towards women in street prostitution, less negative attitudes towards women in escorting and the least negative attitudes towards women in exotic dancing. However, a discriminant analysis revealed that the men's attitudes were influenced by two separate, underlying constructs, which were identified as implicit and explicit prejudice. Additionally, neosexist attitudes, in particular, were found to be predictive of men's endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry.

## DEDICATION

For all of the women who have *never* been just another dead hooker.

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Foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Charlene Senn, for her continuous support, both instrumental and emotional. Moreover, I would like to thank her for caring so much about the lives and well-being of women and for modeling this in her work. I have so much to learn from her.

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## CHAPTER I

Not “just another dead hooker”:

Investigating men’s attitudes towards violence against women in the sex industry

In the popular media and current literature alike, there is increasing awareness of the risk that women in the sex industry<sup>1</sup> face for violence from male clients (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Sanders, 2004). Currently, there is no theoretical explanation for why this particular pattern of male violence against women occurs and persists. Moreover, little is offered to explain why women in some areas of the sex industry are at a much greater risk for violence than others, and why all women in the sex industry are more at risk for violence than the general female population. Widespread systemic violence, such as violence against all women in the sex industry, cannot be understood by myopically examining individual cases of violence. Violence must be examined within the social context and framework (Bryson, 1992).

Galtung (1990) has developed a tripartite model for understanding violence. Though this model has developed out of peace studies, it can be used as a paradigm for understanding violence against women, and more specifically, violence against women in the sex industry. According to Galtung, violence is not a unidimensional construct, but rather it occurs within three separate spheres: direct, structural and cultural. Direct violence is an actual event that takes on physical and interpersonal form. The physical and sexual abuse that women in the sex industry experience from male clients is clearly direct violence. Structural violence, on the other hand, represents a process. It is the imbalance of power and opportunity within our society, which occurs as a consequence of the political, social and economic institutions that organize society. One example of this is the disparity between men’s and women’s earnings. Finally, cultural violence reflects

an enduring social atmosphere and particular cultural ideology that can be represented through attitudes, and serves to legitimize, justify and enable structural and direct forms of violence.

In recent decades the direct violence experienced by women employed in the sex industry has been increasingly documented in the literature. Women in the sex industry are those who exchange visual or physical access to their bodies, usually for the specific purpose of generating income, or in some instances, for the exchange of drugs or a place to stay (Monto, 2004). In 2004, Farley reviewed more than 25 studies that examined the prevalence of violence in the lives of women in the sex industry. Across all studies, women in the sex industry report staggering levels of physical and sexual violence. Though violence is a constant in the lives of many of these women, the literature has shown that they are not a homogeneous population (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). There is variability in the overall severity and frequency with which violence is experienced, such that women in certain areas of the sex industry (e.g., street prostitution) are at a higher risk for violence than in others (e.g., exotic dancing) (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Kurtz, Surratt, Inciardi, & Kiley, 2004).

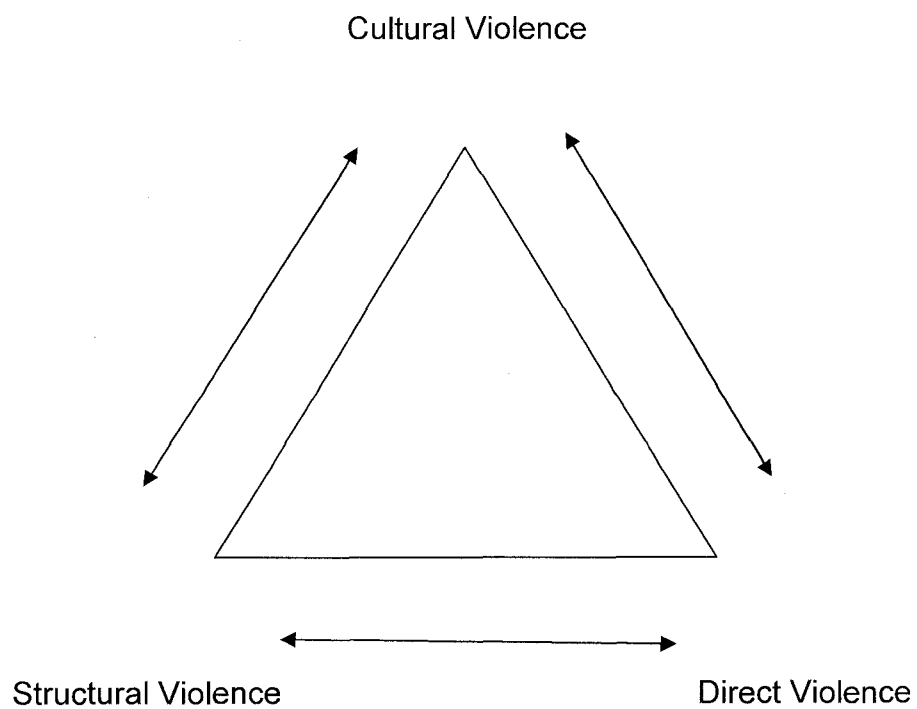
For women employed in all areas of the sex industry, past research indicates that violence is most frequently perpetrated by male clients (Raphael & Shapiro; Sanders, 2004; Wahab, 2005; Silbert, 1982). Women in the sex industry have indicated that they consider violence from male clients, which tends to be unpredictable and prevalent, to be of greater concern and threat to their well being than the risk of contracting HIV or other sexually transmitted infections (Sanders). These women have indicated that they adopt protective strategies in an attempt to reduce their risk of experiencing violence from clients. For example, when working on the streets women will often agree to watch out

for one another by noting the license plate numbers of the men with whom the other women leave (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996). The attention that must be devoted to avoiding violence further illustrates the risk that women face from male clients.

Clearly the potential for direct violence from male clients is a serious threat to the safety and well being of women in the sex industry. However, research that includes male clients as participants is almost non-existent (McKeganey, 1994). To fully understand the phenomenon of direct violence against these women, a more thorough investigation of the role that customers play in violence, and of how this contributes to the perpetuation of a system of violence, is required (Monto, 2004). It is the objective of the current study to focus on male participants, as it is men, as a social group, who are the perpetrators of violence against women in the sex industry. Violence against these women, like violence against all women, is a gendered phenomenon, yet the literature represents, almost entirely, the experiences, feelings and cognitions of only the women who have been victimized (Schwarz, 2005). It is therefore imperative to understand the attitudes that men have towards women in different areas of the sex industry, to obtain a clearer understanding of violence against these women, and why some women experience more severe and higher rates of violence.

Despite being well documented, the direct violence that men commit against women in the sex industry cannot be fully understood and prevented without understanding the influence of structural and cultural violence. Galtung's model of violence (Figure 1.) provides a framework that connects men's attitudes, as a form of cultural violence, with women's direct experiences with violence (1990). He has conceptualized the three forms of violence as a triangle, in which each form of violence represents a point on the triangle; each form of violence feeds into, and is influenced by,

*Figure 1.* Galtung's Tripartite Model of Violence



the other two. The three forms of violence are not independent of one another. Direct and cultural violence occur within a particular social context and structural framework.

Consequently, it is necessary to examine the structural violence, in order to understand the direct and cultural forms.

### *Socialist feminist Theory and Violence*

Martin, Vieraitis and Britto (2006) have proposed a socialist feminist framework for understanding violence against women. Socialist feminist theory is based on the premise that women's oppression occurs because of the interlocking of capitalism and patriarchy. In other words, the oppression of women is based on both their economic and gender inequality (Bryson, 1992; Martin, Vieraitis & Britto). This theory provides a framework for understanding the role that patriarchy and capitalism play in the systemic, structural violence against women; however, it has not been used to specifically address the violence experienced by women in the sex industry. According to socialist feminist theory, structural violence reinforces a cultural climate in which patriarchal ideology is propagated and influences behaviours and attitudes at the individual level. Through a system of male domination, patriarchy provides an environment in which interpersonal violence, by men against women, can flourish (Yodanis, 2004).

Capitalism is based on the continuance of an economic hierarchy, whereby the oppression of lower classes enables the existence of higher classes (Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto, 2006). Patriarchy, which is similarly hierarchical in structure, is based upon gender, rather than economic stratification, such that men are granted greater power and prestige than women. The continued subordination of women thus enables male positions of power and advantage. Consequently, patriarchy and capitalism are not mutually exclusive, but rather they interact to produce a complex stratification system whereby

status is determined by the interlocking of economic class and gender (Yodanis, 2004). For instance, patriarchy confounds the class stratification of capitalism by making women financially dependent upon men (Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto). This is particularly evident with women in the sex industry, whose entire income is based upon the financial offerings of men. In a patriarchal and capitalist system, upper class men will always be at the top of the hierarchy and will have the most privilege and power within society. In contrast, within this structure poor women will always be stratified at the bottom of the hierarchy and will have the least amount of privilege and power.

Socialist feminist theory contends that violence against women is the consequence of their socioeconomic status and relative inequality to men within society. At the structural level, gender inequality - women's economic, political and legal status relative to men's - has been shown to relate to higher rates of rape (Baron & Straus, 1989). In the United States, Straus (1994) compared rates of domestic physical violence against women with structural equality, using measures of the political, economic, educational and legal dimensions of gender equality. The study was conducted across the 50 states and it was found that there was an inverse relationship between status of women and violence, such that the higher the status of women, the less likely it was that there would be higher incidents of domestic violence. These findings have been substantiated by Yodanis (2004), who found that across 27 different countries from Europe and North America, the higher the educational and occupational status of women the lower the incidence of sexual violence. Yodanis has explained that the more space, power and influence that women share with men in the workplace and in educational institutions, the less likely it is that men will use sexual violence against women. Yodanis argues further that these social structures will support men's use of violence.



Martin, Vieraitis and Britto (2006) substantiate the socialist feminist explanation for violence, whereby women's absolute status, which is represented by income, percentage of college degrees, labor force participation and occupational status, was one of the strongest predictors of rape rates. There is an inverse relationship between women's status and rape rates, such that the higher the women's overall status within a given city, the lower the rates of rape within that city, which corroborates the findings of Baron and Straus (1987). Martin, Vieraitis and Britto have concluded that resource deprivation (i.e., poverty) was equally strong at predicting rape rates as absolute status, indicating that greater resource deprivation is related to higher rape rates. The relationship between poverty and violence against women has been demonstrated by Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983), who found that the majority of women who have been raped have an annual family income of less than 10,000 dollars. Moreover, in their review of victimization across 26 cities, it was found that 35% of attacks against women in the lowest income bracket were completed, as compared to 8% of attacks against women in the highest income bracket. Of course, this is not to suggest that violence does not affect women across all status levels, as the wider violence against women literature indicates that it clearly does. However, it seems that poor women are particularly vulnerable to certain forms of violence, or violence under particular circumstances, given their relative lack of power and prestige.

Understanding the relationship between violence and poverty is a necessary part of understanding the violence experienced by women in the sex industry because poverty makes these women more vulnerable to exploitation. The majority of women who work in the sex industry do so out of economic necessity. In Farley's (2005) research, of 854 women interviewed, 89% wanted to leave prostitution but were unable to do so for

economic reasons. Class and economic means greatly influence the life options women have, including their sexuality and career options. Poor women do not have the same latitude that women of greater means have, and women employed in the sex industry are typically among the poorest of women.

Though class is typically associated with economic position, class status is also based on occupational status - the prestige associated with the profession. Yodanis' (2004) research has shown that occupational status accounted for 41% of the sexual violence experienced by the women in her study, such that women in higher status positions were less likely to have experienced violence. Indeed, women in the sex industry are believed to have the least occupational status (Drummond, 2000), due to the interaction of their desperate economic position, stigmatized occupational position, and gender status, placing them in one of the lowest class strata in society.

That there is an inverse relationship between social status and violence has been established in the literature. Given that women in the sex industry are socially situated beneath most women who are not employed in the sex industry, it is in keeping with socialist feminist theory that women in the sex industry are in a social position that is mostly likely to be affected by attitudes that permit and encourage violence against women (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). Moreover, the class stratification of women within the sex industry could explain why some women experience more violence than others, and why all women in the sex industry are at greater risk for violence than women who do not work in the industry.

### *Sex Work and Violence*

In Canada, in 1985, a Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution found that the death rate for women in prostitution was 40 times higher than for the rest of the

Canadian population. Miller (1993) interviewed women in the sex industry and found that 93% of these women reported having been sexually assaulted and 75% reported having been raped. Similarly, Farley and Barkan (1998) found that 82% of women in street prostitution had experienced physical assault, and 68% had experienced rape. Though these studies, and others, quantify women's experience with violence the magnitude of this violence cannot be fully measured. For instance, the women interviewed by Miller indicated that they were incapable of determining the actual number of times that they had been assaulted, either physically or sexually for the frequency was too great to be recounted.

One of the difficulties in assessing the violence experienced by women in the sex industry is the ambiguity that arises as a consequence of their own perceptions of violence. Unfortunately, women in the sex industry are, at times, among those who believe that they cannot be raped, which contributes to the difficulty in assessing the true amount of violence experienced from clients (Miller & Schwartz, 1995; DuMont & McGregor, 2004). Though precisely measuring rates of violence may be impossible, it is indisputable that the violence that men inflict upon women in the sex industry is extreme and unjustified.

#### *Distinction of Roles in the Sex Industry*

In much of the research that has been done on women in the sex industry, the women are described simply as "women in prostitution" or "sex workers". The specific nature and location of their work is not indicated. Of the research that does clearly indicate venue, most studies have been conducted with women in street prostitution. There is relatively little research on women in other areas of the sex industry, such as escorting and exotic dancing. Consequently, differences among these groups of women

are not always clear (Wahab, 2005). Of the research that has been done, however, it is evident that there is variability in the amount of violence that occurs depending on whether the sex work is “indoor” or “outdoor”. Most simply, the differentiation between indoor and outdoor sex work refers to whether the sexually oriented behaviour occurs within the confines of an established building or organization, or outside of them. Shaver (2005) indicates that indoor sex work refers to activities occurring within brothels, massage parlours and peep shows, as well as escort services and exotic dancing, whereas outdoor sex work refers to such activities as street prostitution and survival sex, which is the exchange of sex for food, shelter or drugs.

This indoor-outdoor distinction is problematic in that it neglects the diversity within the two categories and the range of sexual activity that occurs. For instance, exotic dancers and escorts are categorized together as indoor sex workers, even though their experiences are arguably quite different. For exotic dancers work primarily involves visual interaction with men, though in recent years the boundaries of sexual contact between dancer and client have become more ambiguous (Wesely, 2003; Lewis, 1998). Nonetheless, the client does not necessarily touch the body of the exotic dancer, and when touching does occur, the dancer may be able to regulate the physical interaction (Lewis). In contrast, the escort’s work typically involves a specific physical exchange between herself and the customer. Differences in physical exposure, physical contact, and context can influence the beliefs and assumptions that are made about the women (Lafreniere & Senn, 2004). For example, escorts are often assumed to be more costly and of a higher class than women who prostitute on the streets, despite the fact that they perform the same services. Though the indoor-outdoor distinction is limiting, the dichotomy is helpful

in showing that women who work in outdoor locations are at higher risk for experiencing violence, both in frequency and severity, than those who are employed in indoor venues.

Raphael and Shapiro (2004) have conducted one of the few studies that has extensively compared violence in different areas of the sex industry. They found that women in outdoor, street-level, prostitution experienced slapping, punching, kicking, having their hair pulled and clothes ripped more frequently than women in indoor forms of sex work. They were also more likely to have been threatened with a weapon. Women in exotic dancing were more likely to have been pinched by a male client, or have something thrown at them, than women in outdoor prostitution. Exotic dancers were most likely to have been threatened with rape by clients; however, women working as escorts and women in street prostitution indicated, respectively, a much higher frequency of actual rape. This is not to dismiss the fact that women in indoor exotic dancing do experience severe forms of violence, such as being raped, punched or kicked, but rather that there seems to be a higher risk for these forms of violence in other areas of the sex industry, particularly those which occur outdoors.

Some work in this area has suggested that the disparity of violence in indoor and outdoor venues is the consequence of protection and isolation (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). This suggests that women who work outdoors are more vulnerable to violence because they are less likely to have protection from others (e.g., bouncers at strip clubs; chauffeurs for escorts), and they are more likely to perform their services in locations that are isolated from other individuals (e.g., the client's car) who could offer assistance. Though this theory is potentially useful, it is not sufficient as the Raphael and Shapiro findings indicate that the indoor-outdoor distinction does not sufficiently elucidate the systematic nature of the violence in this industry.

Based solely upon the indoor-outdoor categorization, sex work could be dichotomized into low and high risk for violence. However, examining it across a greater number of venues indicates that the risk for violence is better conceptualized as a continuum (Sanders, 2004). Though all women in the sex industry are at an unacceptably high risk for experiencing violence, in terms of frequency and severity, exotic dancers are at less risk for violence than women employed as escorts, and women employed as escorts are at somewhat less risk than women working in street prostitution. There is empirical evidence to support a continuum of risk for violence, but currently the literature lacks a theoretical explanation for this phenomenon.

#### *Violence, Dehumanization and Attitudes*

Galtung's conceptualization of cultural violence can offer a possible explanation for the continuum of risk when combined with the concept of dehumanization, and attitude theory from psychology. Dehumanization is a process through which negative attitudes can be developed and lead to violence. As Maiese (2003) explains, this process occurs when members of the group in question are viewed as less than human or morally inferior. Dehumanization results in a separation of self from other (Galtung, 1990). The other, as a morally inferior being, is accepted as an "it", a being that is sub-human. Once this process of separation occurs, violence against the other becomes more psychologically acceptable. Neutralization Theory (Sykes & Matza, 1957) has been used to explain the process of dehumanization, such that negative attitudes towards the victim are used by perpetrators to neutralize their violent actions (Maiese). For example, statements such as "she deserved it" are used to rationalize violence. Examination of the rape myth literature clearly indicates that such attitudes are commonly held towards women in the sex industry (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). Rape myths reflect negative

attitudes towards women and have been identified by Burt (1980) as “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists” (p. 217). These attitudes serve to endorse cultural beliefs and attitudes that normalize, deny and justify violence against women (Miller & Schwartz; Monto & Hotaling, 2001; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994). Rape myths reflect cultural beliefs about the acceptability of violence towards all women, and the propagation of these myths increases the social acceptability of violence against women.

The dehumanization of women in the sex industry is apparent within the cultural ideology that these women are a sexual commodity and readily available for male consumption (Carpenter, 1998). Women employed in the sex industry substantiate the existence of their dehumanization. For example, one of the primary complaints of exotic dancers was feeling that they were objectified and not valued by customers (Mestemacher & Roberti, 2004). Clients of women in the sex industry also implicate themselves in the dehumanization of these women with the revelation that one of their primary motivations for procuring the services of prostitutes is to perform sexual acts that are unacceptable or inappropriate with other women (McKeganey & Bernard, 1996). Anderson (2005) argues that sexually invasive dehumanization occurs across all areas of the sex industry; however, the extent to which this occurs may vary according to the role of the woman.

Galtung's model of violence suggests that men's dehumanizing beliefs about women in the sex industry will likely relate to negative and potentially violent attitudes that legitimize, and make acceptable, direct violence against these women (Galtung, 1990). Attitudes have been defined within the psychological literature as favourable or unfavourable evaluations of a person that are known to guide actions and behaviour (Myers & Spencer, 2001). Kraus (1995) states that it is a fundamental assumption that

attitudes direct behavior and the literature has shown that though attitudes are not perfect predictors of behaviour, they do correlate with it.

Attitudes towards women, and attitudes about violence against them, have in fact been implicated as predictors of actual violence and aggression against women (Farley, 2003). Violence against women has been associated with attitudes of entitlement to sex and the expectation that women will provide it (Farley). Given this, Farley has indicated that examining the attitudes that men have towards women in the sex industry is an essential part of understanding the violence that they perpetrate. It is difficult to empirically examine actual violent acts against women in the sex industry as it is nearly impossible to access a population of men who will admit to abusing these women (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996). However, all men in North America are socialized within a similar patriarchal and rape (i.e., violence) supportive culture. Therefore, attitudes that make rape and violence towards women possible are learned, at least to some extent, by all men (Baron & Straus, 1987). Thus, one particular way of accessing men's attitudes towards violence against women is through their support of rape myths. Though rape myths threaten the safety of all women, there are additional myths that pertain specifically to women in the sex industry. Women in the sex industry are stigmatized by rape myths even more so than other women because of these additional myths, which are based on the commonly held belief that women in prostitution make themselves public sexual property, and consequently cannot be violated or raped (Miller & Schwartz 1995; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). Rape myths suggest that once a woman's body has been purchased she surrenders her rights to it, and somehow openly consents to any and all forms of violation.



Rape is the end-point on a continuum of sexual aggression. It is not independent of other acts of violence, but is a more extreme manifestation. Monto and Hotaling (2001) have found that there is a positive relationship between the endorsement of rape myths and attraction to violent sexuality. This indicates that negative and violent attitudes towards women can relate to actual violent practices and it is useful to examine men's attitudes towards rape, as this is one way of demonstrating their underlying attitudes towards overall violence against women. Because men in North America are socialized under similar conditions, it seems probable that, as a group, they will have qualitatively similar attitudes towards women in the sex industry and violence against them. Research has shown that men's attitudes towards violence against women vary along a continuum, such that some men have more favourable and accepting attitudes towards violence against women than others (Malamuth, 1983). It may be that the men who abuse women in the sex industry have attitudes that fall at the end of the continuum. However, while not all men are violent towards women in the sex industry, their attitudes about violence against these women may legitimize the violence of other men.

The socialist feminist framework provides a model for understanding a continuum of violent attitudes. The class stratification that occurs within the sex industry is reflected in the attitudes that men have towards the women in different areas of the sex industry, such that women who are regarded as having the lowest status will be those for whom men have the most negative attitudes. Because attitudes are known to relate to behaviour, conceptualizing a continuum of attitudes towards women in the sex industry may offer explanation as to why some women experience more violence than others. The risk for violence that women in the sex industry face falls along a continuum that may parallel the

continuum of attitudes that men have towards these women, such that the women viewed most negatively are those who also experience the most abuse from their male clients.

### *Rationale for Current Study*

Violence against women, including women in the sex industry, is not a random collection of isolated and independent events (Bryson, 1992). Rather, it represents a systemic problem whereby women are less valued than men and at greater risk for victimization. From a feminist standpoint, it is impossible to deny the onus of responsibility that falls upon the male client. Galtung (1990) has suggested that cultural violence makes men's acts of direct violence permissible. Men's negative attitudes towards women in the sex industry signify the cultural violence that precedes the direct, physically violent behaviours of men against these women.

Thus, the objective of the current study was to examine the relationship between cultural violence, as represented by men's attitudes towards women in different areas of the sex industry, and the risk of violence that women in different areas of the sex industry face. The literature suggests that if attitudes correspond with actual acts of violence, men should have the most negative attitudes towards women in street prostitution (who experience the greatest risk for violence) and less negative attitudes towards women who are employed as escorts and exotic dancers (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). Given that women in the sex industry are at greater risk for violence than other women, attitudes towards all women in the sex industry should be less favourable than attitudes towards women in general. Conceptualizing risk for violence and men's attitudes towards the women who experience this violence as parallel continua is potentially the key to developing a theoretical explanation for why some women are consistently more at risk

than others, and what actions must be undertaken to combat the preponderance of violence perpetrated by men, against women in the sex industry.

### *Research Questions*

To examine the plausibility of the parallel continua, the following research questions were developed. The primary question asked was, do men have more negative attitudes towards women in some areas of the sex industry than others? Second, if men's attitudes towards women in the sex industry do differ, does the evaluative pattern fall along a continuum that corresponds with the continuum of women's risk for violence? That is, do men have the most negative attitudes towards the women with lowest status (i.e., women in street prostitution) and the most favourable attitudes towards women who are not in the sex industry? The final question is, do more negative attitudes towards women in general predict greater endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry? Moreover, are negative attitudes towards women in the sex industry specifically, predictive of greater endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry, beyond the effects of general attitudes towards women?

To address the first question a between-subjects experiment was conducted in which men were assigned to conditions describing women who were street prostitutes, escorts, exotic dancers, or cocktail waitresses (employed in a non-sex industry environment). Evaluative differences in attitudes towards women in the sex industry were compared across the four different groups, using two measures that are known to be good indicators of attitudes, which are the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measure (Evans-DiCicco & Cowan, 2001) and a Semantic Differential task (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957).

The second question was explored with additional measures that are known to reflect general attitudes towards violence against women; this included the Neosexism scale (Tougas, Brown, Beaton & Joly, 1995), the Hostility Towards Women scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994) and the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999). Men's attitudes towards violence against women in the sex industry, specifically, were examined through their endorsement of statements, adapted from Miller and Schwartz (1995), which reflect rape myths specific to these women. A within-subjects design was used to more thoroughly examine men's endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry. The men were asked to read one of four ambiguous scenarios in which a man has been charged for violence against a woman, who varies in her role in the sex industry. They were also presented with an additional control condition, for which the woman was a cocktail waitress in a bar that was not affiliated with the sex industry. Following this the men were asked to evaluate whether or not the accused is deserving of punishment, and if so, to rate the severity of punishment that they deem appropriate (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005).

## CHAPTER II

### Methods

#### *Participants*

Ninety-four male students enrolled at the University of Windsor participated in the study. Men were recruited, primarily, through the participant pool at the University of Windsor and received one participation credit. Additional men were approached at the student centre, and asked if they would like to participate in the study. They were provided with a five-dollar gift certificate to Tim Hortons, in recognition of their participation. The men in this study had a mean age of 22.68 ( $SD = 5.22$ ); however, it should be noted that 95% of the participants were under the age of 30, and the modal age was 19 years of age. The sample was almost equally comprised of students ranging from the first to the fourth years of undergraduate studies. Only six participants chose not to indicate their year of study, or indicated “other”. Participants were asked to indicate the cultural or ethnic group(s) that they identify with. The majority of participants (51%) identified themselves as English Canadian; 9% identified as French Canadian; 10% identified as British; 10% identified as Western European; 12% identified as Eastern European; 5% identified as Far Eastern; 8% identified as Caribbean; 7% identified as Latin American; and 1% identified as African.

#### *Materials*

*Experimental Tasks:* The experimental tasks were two-part, and designed to correspond with the first and second research questions. In the first part of the task, the measured variable was men’s general attitudes towards women in different areas of the sex industry. In the second part of the task, the measured variable was men’s indirect endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry. Separate scenarios were

created to reflect the variables in each of these tasks. The scenario in the first task was measured with a Semantic Differential procedure (Appendix B), and the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry (Appendix C) questionnaire (see below). The scenarios for the second task were measured with questions specific to the endorsement of violence.

In the first experimental task, attitudes towards women in the sex industry were measured with two different scenarios. In the first scenario, participants were asked to read a distractor scenario, the purpose of which was to reduce the likelihood that they would determine the purpose of the study (Appendix B). This scenario was not relevant to the current study and was not used in the final analyses. For the experimental manipulation, a second scenario was written to describe a woman who varied in her role in the sex industry. A scenario depicting a woman who does not work in the sex industry was used as a control (Appendix B). The control scenario described a woman who works as a cocktail waitress. In the three experimental conditions, the area of employment was manipulated. These scenarios described the woman as working in exotic dancing (stripping), escorting (as a call girl) or street prostitution. The experiment followed a between subjects design, such that each participant read only one of the four scenarios. Upon reading the second scenario they were asked to complete the Semantic Differential task and the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measure.

The second experimental task was used to measure men's indirect acceptance of violence towards women in the sex industry. To measure this, each participant was asked to read three ambiguous scenarios, describing a man who had been charged with committing a violent act against a woman in exotic dancing, escorting, or street prostitution. There were also asked to read an additional control scenario, in which the woman was a cocktail waitress (Appendix D). A within-subjects design was utilized, and

participants were randomly presented with all four vignettes. In the base scenario, which was also the control, the victimized woman was described as a woman working as a cocktail waitress in a bar. In the remaining scenarios the woman was described as working in street prostitution, escorting or exotic dancing. The participants were asked to answer two Acceptance of Violence Against Women in the Sex Industry questions (Appendix D), implicitly addressing their endorsement of violence against the woman in the scenario (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005). They were asked to indicate whether or not the accused deserved to be punished, by clicking either yes or no. If participants indicated no, they were redirected to the next part of the study. Participants who indicated that yes, he should be punished, were also asked to indicate how severe the punishment should be along an 11-point scale ranging from 0 (no punishment) to 10 (very severe punishment).

*Semantic Differential.* The Semantic Differential measure (Appendix B) was comprised of 12 dichotomous adjective pairs, chosen from the evaluative dimension, such as “good-bad” and “passive-active” (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). The pairs were organized on continua, with 7 points separating the antonyms. This measure has been used successfully in the past to demonstrate implicit attitudes towards the object, or person, in question. Cronbach’s Alpha Coefficients were calculated for the four Semantic Differential measures, corresponding with each of the four conditions, and they ranged from  $\alpha = .87$  to  $\alpha = .91$ , indicating very good reliability.

*Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry.* Evans-DeCicco and Cowan (2001) have constructed a 15-item measure entitled Beliefs About Pornography Actors Scale (Appendix C). The scale does not reference pornography actors specifically in any of the

questions. It was thus used to examine beliefs about women employed in different areas of the sex industry without any modification, except to the instructions. The scale was used to measure beliefs about the woman presented in the first experimental task. Participants were asked to rate their beliefs, on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1(not at all likely) to 5(very likely). Higher scores were indicative of more favourable beliefs about the women in question. The Beliefs About Pornography Actors Scale has been shown to have good internal reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of  $\alpha = .84$ . The internal reliability for this study was assessed and found to be very good  $\alpha = .91$ .

*Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale*, (Reynolds, 1982). To account for the possibility of social desirability, the short version of this questionnaire, which has 13 yes-no items, was administered (Appendix E). High scores on this measure indicate that participants are more likely answering in a socially desirable way; that is they are trying to fake good. This measure has been found to have good internal consistency reliability,  $\alpha = .76$ . When assessed for this study, the internal consistency reliability was somewhat lower, but still acceptable, with a Cronbach's alpha of  $\alpha = .70$ .

*The Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale Short Form* (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The IRMA-SF is a 20-item measure, designed to reflect seven components of rape myth acceptance, which include the following: 1) She asked for it; 2) It wasn't really rape; 3) He didn't mean to; 4) She wanted it; 5) She lied; 6) Rape is a trivial event; and 7) Rape is a deviant event (Appendix F). Participants were asked to rate, on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1(not at all agree) to 7(very much agree), their agreement with statements about rape myth, such as "If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control". Higher



scores on the IRMS-SF are indicative of greater endorsement of rape myths. This scale has been shown to be internally reliable, ( $\alpha > .80$ ) and to have good construct validity as the scale strongly correlates with sex-role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, hostility towards women and attitudes towards violence (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald). The internal reliability found in this study was good, as Cronbach's alpha indicates,  $\alpha = .80$ .

*Rape Myths About Women in the Sex Industry.* Currently, there is no published scale that measures the endorsement of rape myths specific to women in the sex industry. However, Miller and Schwartz (1995) have identified four specific myths that pertain to women in the sex industry. The questions developed for this measure reflect these particular myths, which are: 1) Women who work in the sex industry cannot be raped, 2) Violence against women in the sex industry is not a serious problem, 3) Women who work in the sex industry deserve the violence that they experience, and 4) Women in the sex industry are all the same (Appendix G). Participants were presented with statements referring to these myths, and then asked to indicate their agreement on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1(not at all agree) to 7(very much agree). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of rape myths about women in the sex industry. The Cronbach's alpha for these questions indicated an internal reliability of  $\alpha = .50$ , which is considered poor; however, given that this scale has only four items, this reliability is not unexpected.

*Hostility Towards Women Scale.* The original 30-item scale was developed by Check (1985). For brevity, simplicity and clarity, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) have modified and reduced the scale to 10 items (Appendix H). Participants indicate their

agreement with statements such as “Sometimes women bother me just by being around” and “I am easily angered by women” with either a true or false response. Higher scores indicate greater hostility, and more negative attitudes, towards women. Psychometric analysis of the Lonsway and Fitzgerald shortened adaptation indicated an internal reliability of  $\alpha = .83$ . This scale has demonstrated good construct validity when compared to other measures of sexual aggression such as the Sexual Experiences Survey (Check, Perlman, & Malamuth, 1985). The Cronbach’s alpha indicated that the internal reliability was  $\alpha = .66$  in the current sample, which is considered acceptable.

*Neosexism scale.* This is an 11-item measure intended to assess men’s endorsement of modern forms of gender prejudice on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all agree) to 7 (very much agree) (Appendix I). This scale has been found to have acceptable levels of internal reliability  $\alpha = .78$ , and good construct validity (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). The Cronbach’s alpha for the Neosexism scale was found to be  $\alpha = .69$  in the current sample, which was unexpectedly low, but acceptable.

*Status of Women in the Sex Industry.* This measure was designed for this study and asked men to rate eight different professions that women work in, according to their perceived status (Appendix J). The purpose of this measure was to ensure that men’s opinions of the status of various roles in the sex industry correspond with those predicted in this study (i.e., women in street prostitution will have lowest status; women in exotic dancing will have the highest status of women in the sex industry).

*Background Information.* Demographic questions regarding age, sexual identity, ethnicity, level of education, sexual activity and relationship status were asked. Additionally, participants were asked to indicate the frequency with which they have, in

the past, visited strip clubs or accessed the services of women in escorting or street prostitution (Appendix A).

### *Procedure*

The study was posted online, on the Psychology Department participant pool website, at the University of Windsor. The majority of participants registered for the study through this website. A list of potential participants was also acquired from the pool, and participants were contacted by telephone or email, to ask if they would like to participate. The remaining participants were recruited at the University of Windsor student centre.

Testing sessions were conducted with no more than 5 participants at a time. Upon arriving at the testing session, participants were provided with a consent form describing the nature of the study and what would be required of them, which they were asked to sign (Appendix K). Each participant from the participant pool was assigned to a computer terminal and the questionnaires were administered on the computer using Media Lab (Empirisoft, 2006). The participants who were not from the participant pool completed the study on a laptop in a private area at the Student Center.

To begin, participants were asked to complete the background information questionnaire, with the exception of the questions relating specifically to experiences with women in the sex industry. These questions were embedded later in the presentation of materials to avoid priming participants for the experiment. Participants were then presented with the distractor scenario, and were asked to complete the Semantic Differential measure in relation to it (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). To complete the Semantic Differential, participants were asked to evaluate each adjective pair on a continuum, with each end represented by one of the words of the pair. On each of the

continua there were 7 spaces between the two words (Appendix B). Participants indicated their evaluation by clicking on one of the spaces.

The experimental scenarios involved a manipulation of the women's roles, thus a between subjects design was undertaken and men were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. The men in the four conditions were asked to complete the Semantic Differential and the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry questionnaire (Evans-DiCicco & Cowan, 2001).

The following measures were presented to the participants, following the first experimental task (i.e., attitudes about women in the sex industry scenarios). They were randomly ordered by Media Lab to limit ordering effects: The Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale; Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale – Short Form; Acceptance of Rape Myths Regarding Women in the Sex Industry; the Hostility Towards Women scale; the Neosexism scale and the Status of Women in the Sex Industry measure. The participants were also presented with the second component of the experimental task, which involved the four scenarios that measured men's endorsement of violence. Each of the four scenarios and associated questions were incorporated into the random ordering of the other questionnaires, so as to not all be presented at once. After completing these measures the computer thanked the participants for their involvement, and prompted them to see the researcher. At this time they were handed a debriefing letter explaining the purpose of the study, and were encouraged to read it and ask questions (Appendix L). The participants were also provided with an information sheet containing contact information for community groups and resources for men requiring support groups, distress centres or mental health services (Appendix M). Following this their participation was recorded and either credits were assigned or they received a gift certificate for their participation.

## CHAPTER III

### Results

#### *Background Analyses*

To obtain a general understanding of the sample, descriptive analyses were performed. It was found that the majority of the participants were heterosexual and the remaining participants indicated their sexual identification as bisexual. Forty-nine percent of participants reported being in a romantic relationship, and 53% reported being in a sexual relationship. Participants were asked to indicate the number of sexual partners that they have had in the past, and the mean number of partners was 6.40 ( $SD = 12.55$ ); however, as the standard deviation indicates, the large variability within the population was influenced by a small number of particularly high scores. The modal number of sexual partners, representing almost a quarter of the sample, was one.

Participants were also asked to indicate their past experiences with women in the sex industry. Seventy-one percent of participants indicated that they have been to a strip club. The average number of times that the participants had visited a strip club was 12.10 ( $SD = 21.25$ ). Again, the standard deviation is telling of the variability within this population, as the range of visits was 1 to 150, with a mode of one. Only two participants within the sample indicated that they had used the services of both escorts and women in prostitution. Both individuals indicated that they had used the services of escorts twice. One participant reported using the services of women in prostitution once, and the other individual reported using such services twice.

Given the sensitive nature of the measures being used, the possibility of socially desirable responding was a concern. Intercorrelations were performed between the social desirability measure and the other measures, and no significant relationships were found,

thereby indicating that participants' responses on attitudinal measures are not affected by social desirability influences (Table 1).

### *Preliminary Analyses*

Preliminary data screening indicated that three cases had more than 20% missing data, and were thus removed from the analyses, as they comprised less than 5% of the total sample size (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2007). Univariate outliers were assessed with box plots of z scores for variables within each occupational group and yielded no offending cases. Multivariate outliers were examined with DFFITs and 2 influential observations were identified and removed, as they demonstrated outliers on both the x and y axes. While MANOVA is robust to outliers and influential observations, extreme cases are known to exert undue influence on multiple regression, and thus these cases were excluded from analyses (Field, 2000).

Multivariate normality was assessed with graphical and nongraphical tests. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test revealed significant deviation from marginal normality for the Semantic Differential within the waitress occupation, and the Kolmogorov-Smirnov, as well as the Shapiro-Wilk test, indicated significant deviations from marginal normality for Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry within the prostitute occupation. Inspection of normal probability plots and histograms indicated several slight deviations from normality; however, this is considered to be an artifact of the constructs being measured and is not unusual. The assumption of homogeneity of covariances matrices was met,  $M = 11.35$ ,  $F(9, 42160.67) = 1.20$ ,  $p = .29$ . All analyses were interpreted at .05 level of significance.

Perceived status of women in the sex industry was assessed by calculating the mean scores for each of the eight ranked professions (Table 2). As expected, participants

ranked the sex industry occupations lowest. Within the three sex industry professions, exotic dancers were ranked highest and women in street prostitution were ranked lowest, with escorts falling in between.

### *Main Analyses*

*Attitudes Towards Women in the Sex Industry.* A significant and high correlation between the attitudinal measures (Semantic Differential scores and Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry)  $r = -.72, p < .01$  suggested that it was most appropriate to combine these dependent variables into a single MANOVA (note: the inverse relationship between the measures is due to the design of the measures, which were oriented in opposite directions). Subsequently, a one-way between-subjects MANOVA was conducted to ascertain whether attitudes towards women differed across three occupations in the sex industry: dancer, escort, and prostitute and a control occupation – waitress. There was a significant multivariate effect for occupation,  $\Lambda = .61, F(6,166) = 7.84, p < .01$ , accounting for 22.1% of the total variance, indicating that men's attitudes towards women varied as a function of the occupation on both measures.

A Helmert contrast was then conducted on each measure separately to determine whether men's attitudes towards women in the sex industry would range along a continuum, such that men would have the least negative attitudes towards cocktail waitresses (women not in the sex industry) and the most negative attitudes towards women in street prostitution. Specifically, it was hypothesized that men would have the least negative attitudes towards women who work as cocktail waitresses; they would have more negative attitudes towards women who work as exotic dancers, even more negative attitudes towards women who work as escorts and the most negative attitudes towards

women who work in street prostitution. Thus, the following comparisons were examined for both the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measure and the Semantic Differential measure:

- waitresses versus women in the sex industry
- dancers versus escorts and prostitutes
- escorts versus prostitutes

*Predicting Attitudes with the Semantic Differential.* The continuum hypothesis was supported, based upon the Semantic Differential scores, such that men's attitudes towards women who worked as cocktail waitresses ( $M = 44.37$ ,  $SD = 8.94$ ) were significantly less negative than their attitudes towards women who worked in the sex industry  $t(89) = -11.53$ ,  $p < .01$ . Men's attitudes towards dancers ( $M = 50.37$ ,  $SD = 11.50$ ) were significantly less negative than their attitudes towards women in escorting ( $M = 53.42$ ,  $SD = 11.48$ ) and prostitution ( $M = 63.92$ ,  $SD = 8.35$ ),  $t(89) = -8.30$ ,  $p < .01$ . Men's attitudes towards escorts were significantly different than their attitudes towards prostitutes,  $t(89) = -10.50$ ,  $p < .01$ . Therefore, men's attitudes towards women in the various occupations were in the hypothesized order.

*Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry.* The Helmert contrasts conducted on the Beliefs measure indicated that the continuum hypothesis was partially supported, such that men's attitudes towards women who worked as cocktail waitresses ( $M = 50.38$ ,  $SD = 8.93$ ) were significantly less negative than towards women who worked in the sex industry,  $t(89) = 12.33$ ,  $p < .00$ , and men's attitudes towards dancers ( $M = 42.00$ ,  $SD = 9.94$ ) were significantly less negative than towards escorts ( $M = 37.79$ ,  $SD = 8.66$ ) and prostitutes ( $M = 34.35$ ,  $SD = 10.08$ ),  $t(89) = 5.93$ ,  $p = .013$ . However, men's attitudes



towards women in escorting and women in prostitution did not differ significantly,  $t(89) = 3.44$ ,  $p = \text{n.s.}$  It should be noted that this measure was inversely coded, such that lower numbers reflect more negative attitudes.

Given that support for the continuum differed based on the attitudinal measures, a descriptive discriminant analysis was conducted to ascertain whether there was an underlying construct that differentiated the men's attitudes. The discriminant analysis yielded two discriminant functions (DF) which significantly separated the occupational groups; DF1:  $\Lambda = .61$ ,  $\chi^2(6) = 41.89$ ,  $p < .000$ ; DF2:  $\Lambda = .93$ ,  $\chi^2(2) = 6.38$ ,  $p = .041$ . The first and second discriminant functions accounted for 87% and 13% of the total between-group association. Refer to Tables 3 and 4 for the standardized coefficients and structure coefficients.

To assist with interpretation, the discriminant functions were rotated. Refer to Tables 5-7 for the rotated standardized discriminant coefficients, structure coefficients and group centroids. The first and second functions accounted for 65.40% and 34.60% of the total variance, respectively. Examination of the structure coefficients demonstrated that the Semantic Differential was closely related to function 1 ( $r = .94$ ) and Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry was closely related to function 2 ( $r = -.34$ ). The pattern of group centroids supported the discriminant function distinctions. From a theoretical perspective this suggests that function 1 (Semantic Differential) differentiates exotic dancers and escorts from women in prostitution, based upon implicit attitudes, and function 2 (Beliefs) differentiates the exotic dancers from women in escorting and prostitution, based upon explicit attitudes. A classification analysis revealed that the first

discriminant function and second discriminant function correctly classified 42% of the four occupations, which indicates moderate predictive ability.

In concert, the MANOVA, pairwise comparisons and discriminant analysis indicate that men do, indeed, have different attitudes towards women in different areas of the sex industry, such that they view women who are not in the sex industry most positively and women who work in street prostitution most negatively, thereby lending support to the proposed continuum of attitudes.

*Predicting Endorsement of Violence.* Multiple regression analyses were conducted to assess whether negative attitudes towards women are predictive of violence against women in the sex industry, and moreover, whether attitudes towards women in the sex industry specifically, are predictive above and beyond general attitudes. Endorsement of violence was measured for each of the three sex trade occupations, in addition to the waitress control. A repeated measures ANOVA was performed, with the four role conditions acting as the independent variable, to determine the number of appropriate regression analyses to be conducted. (See Table 8 for means and standard deviations.) The ANOVA demonstrated a significant effect for condition (i.e., occupation),  $F(3, 83) = 3.15, p = .03$ , and thus was followed with a Tukey's post-hoc analysis to determine where the significant differences among occupations were occurring. The post-hoc analysis demonstrated that the control condition differed significantly from the three sex trade conditions. However, none of the sex trade occupations differed significantly from one another. Given this, it was deemed appropriate to collapse across the three occupations by creating a single composite score to represent endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry.

Subsequently, a correlation analysis was conducted to examine the relationships between the endorsement of violence against the cocktail waitress and endorsement against women in the sex industry, with the attitudinal predictors. Examination of the correlation matrix for the control condition indicated that none of the independent variables were significantly correlated with men's endorsement of violence. The correlation matrix for the composite sex trade condition was then examined, and it was found that Neosexism, alone, was significantly related to men's endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry,  $r(89) = -.31, p < .01$ , and accounted for ten percent of the variance.

Given that only one measure correlated with men's endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry, regression analyses were deemed unnecessary. The lack of association between the attitudinal measures and men's endorsement of violence against women may, in fact, be the consequence of restriction of range of scores (Heiman, 1996). Specifically, responses on the hostility and rape myth measures did not represent the full range of possible scores. That is, the men with the most extreme attitudes were not represented in this sample. The restricted range in responses suggests insufficient variance to demonstrate the linear relationship between attitudinal predictors and the endorsement criterion. Thus, in a sample with greater range of responses, the relationships between predictor and criterion may emerge.

## CHAPTER IV

### Discussion

Galtung (1990) proposed a model of violence in which cultural violence serves to legitimize, justify and enable structural and direct forms of violence. Well-established patterns of violence against women in the sex industry cannot be fully understood, without understanding the cultural and structural milieu. Cultural violence is filtered through attitudes; thus, by examining men's attitudes towards women in the sex industry, cultural support for violence against women in the sex industry can be accessed. Consequently, the purpose of this study was to determine whether men have more negative attitudes toward women in the sex industry, based upon the occupation of the women, and more specifically, does this pattern of attitudes fall along a continuum that parallels the women's risk for violence? It was also intended to determine if negative attitudes toward women in general are predictive of violence against women in the sex industry, and if negative attitudes towards women in the sex industry specifically, are predictive of endorsing violence above and beyond the effects of general attitudes.

#### *Attitudes Towards Women in the Sex Industry*

The research, from this sample of university educated men, indicated that men do, indeed, have differential attitudes toward women in the sex industry, which are influenced by the women's occupation. Moreover, it was found that these attitudes fall along a continuum of negativity that corresponds with the continuum of risk for violence. On both the Semantic Differential and Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measures, men indicated that they have the most negative attitudes toward women in street prostitution. They had somewhat less negative attitudes toward escorts than prostitutes, and less

negative attitudes toward exotic dancers than escorts. Their least negative attitudes, as expected, were toward women who were not in the sex industry at all.

Although both the Semantic Differential and the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measures demonstrated that men view women in the sex industry upon a continuum of negativity, the analyses suggested that men make these distinctions in two separate ways, that is, along two separate dimensions. Discriminant Analysis is a technique that can be used to understand the nature of group differences, by identifying the underlying dimensions upon which they are differentiated. By using this technique it was apparent that when men responded to the Semantic Differential task they distinguished women in exotic dancing and escorting as being significantly different from women prostitution; however, women in exotic dancing and escorting were not considered to be significantly different from one another. A slightly different pattern emerged, however, when men's attitudes were measured using the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measure. Women in exotic dancing were viewed as significantly different from women in escorting and prostitution, but escorts and prostitutes were not considered to be significantly different from one another. What this suggests is that there are two separate mechanisms underlying men's attitudes, which influence the nature of their attitudes and the manner in which they make evaluations.

The Dual Attitudes Model, proposed by Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000), is useful in conceptualizing the co-existence of these two separate mechanisms. Dual attitudes are reflected in individuals who simultaneously hold two separate – and often contrary – evaluations of the same object. Implicit and explicit attitudes are the mechanisms that enable the existence of dual attitudes. Implicit and explicit attitudes differ from one another in that implicit attitudes reflect automatic associations that are

uncontrollable and often subconscious, while explicit attitudes are attitudes which we are cognizant of and capable of controlling (Rudman, 2004; Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler). Implicit attitudes occur automatically, whereas the retrieval and maintenance of explicit attitudes requires motivation. However, when explicit attitudes can be retrieved and maintained, it is possible to use them to override implicit attitudes.

Implicit attitudes cannot be directly measured, because they are often held unconsciously, and thus indirect tools, such as the Semantic Differential, must be employed to access them (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). Explicit attitudes are typically accessed through traditional self-report measures, and are represented in this study with responses to the Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measure (Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). The results have shown that men's explicit attitudes, that is, the attitudes that they make consciously, differentiate women in exotic dancing from women in escorting and street prostitution. However, at an implicit and subconscious level, men's attitudes toward women in escorting are, in fact, comparable to their attitudes towards women in exotic dancing. Thus, while men appear to evaluate women in escorting and prostitution similarly, their implicit attitudes suggest that they perceive greater association among exotic dancers and escorts.

The patterns of implicit and explicit attitudes interlock with one another to create an attitudinal continuum that can be successfully mapped onto the known patterns of violence against women in the sex industry. Women who work as dancers are known to be at less risk for violence from male clients than women in escorting and prostitution (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004), and not surprisingly, men have the least negative attitudes toward these women, both implicitly and explicitly. Women in street prostitution are known to be at the greatest risk for violence (Raphael & Shapiro) and as would be

expected, men demonstrated the most negative attitudes toward these women, both implicitly and explicitly.

While the negativity of men's attitudes corresponds with the anticipated pattern, the inconsistencies of men's implicit and explicit categorization of women in escorting is of particular interest. The Discriminant Analysis suggested that men's attitudes toward women in the sex industry are based upon two different attitudinal constructs (i.e., implicit and explicit attitudes) and thus, are likely influenced simultaneously by more than one phenomenon. Both phenomena cause women in exotic dancing to be differentiated from women in street prostitution; however, they do not produce the same attitudinal outcome in regard to escorts. It is by exploring how escorts are associated with and differentiated from the other two occupations, that we can identify the actual phenomena that affect implicit and explicit attitudes toward women in the sex industry.

Research on men's specific attitudes towards escorts is minimal, however, within the sex industry workers conceptualize an overarching occupational hierarchy, whereby off-street (indoor) work is clearly positioned above street work. The economic nature of this hierarchy is apparent. Escorting, particularly high-end escorting, which is considered most economically profitable, is considered to be situated at the top of the hierarchy and street prostitution is always considered to be at the bottom (Lewis, Maticka-Tyndale, Shaver & Schramm, 2005). Although this hierarchy is organized somewhat differently than the hierarchy that men perceive, both suggest that status within the sex industry is, at least in part, influenced by economic profitability.

Women in the sex industry frequently exemplify down-ward social comparison, whereby they compare themselves with women of lower status, emphasizing the differences between themselves and these women. Exotic dancers, for instance, often

present themselves as performers rather than sex workers. Escorts, too, choose to distance themselves from women of lower status, most frequently emphasizing that they not prostitutes, nor are they like prostitutes (Lewis, Maticka-Tyndale, Shaver & Schramm). Women in higher status occupations consider women in street prostitution willing to do anything, including engaging in high-risk activities, often because they are desperate for drugs (Sanders, 2004). In comparing exotic dancers and escorts, distinctions are made, most clearly, along the lines of degree of physical contact, and the nature of the sexual services exchanged, such that dancers have greater control of the amount of physical contact that is involved, and their primary form of exchange with clients is visual access alone. The similarities that can be drawn between women in escorting and exotic dancing are that both of these occupations occur “indoors”, out of the directly public eye, which affords them greater respectability and safety than activities occurring “outdoors” (Shaver, 2005).

While escorts and exotic dancers draw clear distinctions between themselves and women in street prostitution, it cannot be denied that certain aspects of escorting are more comparable to prostitution than dancing. Exotic dancers provide primarily visual, rather than physical access to their bodies, whereas the services of escorts and prostitutes are based upon the physical exchange (Wesley, 2003). Although research suggests that the boundaries are becoming more vague, and dancing involves increasingly more physical interaction between dancer and client (Lewis, 1998), dancers are thought to have greater control over the amount of physical contact that occurs, and subsequently, higher status within the sex industry (Egan, 2003). Physical contact is less inherent in their exchange, than it is for women in escorting and street prostitution, and it is in this regard that prostitution and escorting are more greatly associated.



What this examination has shown is that escorts are compared to both prostitutes and exotic dancers in two different ways. They are differentiated based upon economic profitability and status, as well as the degree of physical contact and sexual services that are exchanged between the women and clients. Women in escorting are considered comparable to women in exotic dancing, when the differentiation is based upon economics and occupational status. In contrast, women in escorting are found comparable to women in prostitution in terms of the actual sexual services that they provide, and the moral issues surrounding these exchanges. Evaluations based upon the nature of sexual services are not value free, and that there is a direct correlation between degree of contact and the magnitude of the negative attitude. Women who engage in the direct exchange of sex for money more greatly violate cultural norms and gender roles than women who engage in the indirect exchange of sex for money (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). Sanders (2004) indicated that there is a moral hierarchy upon which women in the sex industry are stratified, based upon the nature of the services that they provide. For example, oral sex to completion, without a condom, and anal sex, for instance, are considered by many, even within the sex industry, to degrade women and lower their moral position. Consequently, when evaluations are made based upon the nature of sexual services exchanged between the women and clients, a moral judgment is being made.

By examining how the Semantic Differential and Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry measures differentiate women in the sex industry according to their occupation, we can determine how evaluations of economic and moral status map onto implicit and explicit attitudes toward these women. Socialist-feminist theory has been proposed as a means of explaining the role of structural violence in the perpetuation of cultural and direct violence against women in the sex industry (Martin, Vieraitis & Britto,

2006). Due to the interlocking of capitalism and patriarchy, women in the sex industry are positioned in the lowest of social strata; however, within this social group, women are stratified further still, based upon their specific roles within the sex industry (Yodanis, 2004). Men's attitudes have corroborated the existence of this stratification.

Socialist-feminist theory provides an explanation for men's implicit attitudes, which reflect classist prejudice. Much like sexism, classism is a pervasive form of social discrimination that involves the distancing of oneself from the poor, in addition to the exclusion and devaluation of these individuals (Aosved & Long, 2006). When perceived through the lens of classism, women in escorting and exotic dancing are comparable because they are capable of earning – at times – substantial amounts of money. It is this economic value, in turn, which influences more favourable, implicit attitudes.

Classist stereotypes are learned through socialization and serve to inform and perpetuate classist prejudice (Lott, 2002). The stereotyping and prejudice research has shown that prejudice can occur both implicitly and explicitly, thereby informing the corresponding attitudes (Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). In fact, Devine (1989) has argued that contemporary classist attitudes are such a central part of [North] American culture, that knowledge of them is acquired, unconsciously, by almost everyone at a very young age. Consequently, understanding the attitudes that men have towards women in the sex industry requires an understanding of the underlying prejudices and the social influences that inform this prejudice. Although classism is pervasive and insidious, like sexism and racism, in our “politically correct” society, it has become increasingly inappropriate to demonstrate it overtly. Classist attitudes are thus an unsurprising example of implicit attitudes, given that exposure to classism is inevitable, and yet rebuked. Given that implicit attitudes occur through socialization, they become automatic, and even

though individuals may try to ignore them or override them, they can linger subconsciously and influence the evaluations that we make (Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000).

The implicit, classist prejudice that men demonstrate towards women in the sex industry reflects prejudice that is uncontrollable, but also socially unacceptable. Given that this prejudice is socially unacceptable, men must override or disguise it. The literature on implicit and explicit attitudes indicates that explicit attitudes are the means by which implicit attitudes can be overridden (Rudman, 2004; Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). Men's explicit attitudes towards women in the sex industry are drawn upon lines of morality. Well-established social norms about appropriate female behaviour and sexuality have made it apparent that selling sex for money is bad, and women who engage in the direct exchange of sexual services for money are deviant (Brock, 1998). Given that women in escorting and street prostitution are known to exchange direct physical contact with men, whereas exotic dancers exchange primarily indirect and visual access (Sanders, 2004) it is not surprising that men's explicit attitudes differentiate women in exotic dancing from women in prostitution and escorting, as the prejudice underlying these attitudes is socially accepted.

Although explicit attitudes are capable of overriding implicit attitudes, what remains unclear is whether or not men are aware of their dual attitudes. Motivated overriding and automatic overriding are two processes that have been proposed by Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) to explain how dual attitudes occur. Wilson, et al. explain that motivated overriding occurs when people are fully aware of their implicit attitudes, but are uncomfortable with these attitudes as they consider them to be inappropriate or illegitimate. This uncomfortable awareness motivates them to override

the unwanted attitude. This process has been frequently proposed with various models of stereotyping and prejudice, thus suggesting that it is a useful way of consciously suppressing uncomfortable and undesired attitudes (Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Automatic overriding, in contrast, occurs without conscious awareness of the implicit attitudes. The moment that an implicit attitude is activated, it is immediately overwritten with the explicit attitude.

The literature on stereotyping and prejudice would suggest that men most likely use motivated overriding to manage their dual attitudes towards women in the sex industry. That is, they are conscious of the grounds for both the moral and economic judgments that they make, even if they do not have the awareness or discourse to label it. In this study, when men were asked to hierarchically order the occupational status of women in the sex industry, exotic dancers were rated highest and prostitutes lowest, with escorts falling in the middle; however, approximately one third rated women in escorting as having higher status than women in exotic dancing, which is interesting as it is in keeping with the hierarchy that women in the sex industry perceive, and with the actual economic organization of the occupations. This suggests that men are cognizant of both the implicit and explicit attitudes that they hold towards women in the sex industry, and though explicit attitudes more frequently override implicit attitudes, implicit attitudes sometimes take precedence.

Implicit and explicit prejudices appear to be the phenomena that underlie men's differential attitudes. Further exploration of the nuances of men's implicit and explicit attitudes, and implicit and explicit prejudices may be instrumental in the construction of a more elaborate model that is capable of extrapolating upon the relationship between

men's attitudes towards women in the sex industry and the risk these women face for violence.

### *Predicting Endorsement of Violence*

The second research question was a logical extension of the first. The purpose was to examine whether attitudes toward women in the sex industry, as well as attitudes toward women in general, are predictive of men's endorsement of violence. It was expected that hostile attitudes toward women, neosexist attitudes and rape supporting attitudes would predict men's endorsement of violence against these women. Of these constructs, only neosexist attitudes were found to significantly predict men's endorsement of violence. Neosexist attitudes represent modern forms of sexism. Tougas, Brown, Beaton and Joly (1995) have described neosexist attitudes as arising from the conflict of modern egalitarian values regarding women's roles in society, and residual feelings of negativity toward women. The demonstration of overt sexism has become socially unacceptable, but regardless, prejudiced attitudes towards women still linger – albeit more covertly. It appears that these attitudes have the potential to predict at least 10% of the variance in men's endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry.

Curiously, neosexist attitudes did not predict men's endorsement of violence against the control group. Of the possible explanations for this, one is that the variance within the sample was insufficient; that is, the majority of men did not endorse violence against this group and thus their scores were heavily clustered at one end of the scale. There was greater diversity, and a wider distribution of scores, for the endorsement of violence against women in the sex industry, which may be why this particular relationship was observed when the other was not. Another explanation is that men, who score highly in neosexism, are more likely to differentiate women in the sex industry from other

women, such that their perceptions of women in the sex industry more readily permit the endorsement of violence against these women. To date, research that examines the relationship between sexism and attitudes toward women in the sex industry is undeveloped. The literature shows that there are different forms of sexism, which are manifested in different ways (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Benevolent sexism, for instance, is characterized by a chivalrous ideology, whereby men assume a protective attitude toward women. Hostile sexism, on the other hand, reflects a general antipathy towards women (Abrams, Viki, Masser & Bohner, 2003). Research has shown that Neosexism is primarily associated with hostile sexism (Masser & Abrams, 1999), thus it is reasonable that Neosexism significantly correlates with endorsement of violence.

What this study has indicated is that men do have differential attitudes toward women in the sex industry, based upon the occupation of the women. As well, men who have generally Neosexist attitudes toward women in general, are more likely to endorse violence against women in the sex industry. Unfortunately, as with all studies, there are limitations that may have restricted a full picture of men's attitudes and the relationship between men's attitudes and violence against women in the sex industry. The sample is, of course, an obvious limitation as it comprised young, undergraduate men, who by and large, have had relatively little contact with women in the sex industry. Moreover, education is linked to more liberal attitudes, which may mean that the attitudes that these men have toward women in the sex industry are not representative of the majority of men, or even the majority of men who actually utilize the services of women in the sex industry. While actual experience with women in the sex industry may not be an important factor in developing culturally bound attitudes towards these women, it would be useful to examine differences in attitudes, based upon this criterion. A community

sample and a sample with a greater age range would likely extend the range of responses, such that linear relationships between attitudes and endorsement of violence may have been more likely to emerge.

There are additional methodological limitations that may have influenced the results of the study. A within-subjects design was used to address the second research question for the purpose of decreasing the number of participants required, because of the limited availability of male participants. Given that the final  $N$  was 89 (the required power for this analyses was  $N = 60$ ) and thus sufficient to obtain adequate power for the analysis, it is possible that the within-subjects design caused a fatigue effect with participants, as they had to respond to variants of the same scenario four times.

The dependent variables were comprised of two items that were extracted from a scale that has been neither widely established nor validated. The full scale was not used because, as a whole, it did not measure endorsement of violence, and thus these were the only two relevant and useful items. Although it was not an ideal decision to use these two items, they were the only tool available at the time. One of the items was accidentally coded dichotomously and thus only the remaining continuous item could be used for the analysis<sup>2</sup>. A single item dependent variable is undesirable as it is unlikely to provide sufficient variability and fully represent the construct being measured. This may, in fact, be the primary weakness in this study and thus future research should embark upon the development of a measure that will more clearly and strongly reflect the relationship between men's attitudes and their endorsement of violence. Additionally, however, it should be noted that the Neosexism, Hostility Toward Women and Rape Myths About Women in the Sex Industry measures showed lower internal consistency reliability scores

than are desirable, which may be an additional consideration that warrants future attention.

Despite the limitations, this study has provided answers for both research questions. There is evidence that men do have differential attitudes towards women in the sex industry, which correspond with a continuum of negativity, which runs parallel to the continuum of risk for experiencing violence. The study also demonstrated that men's attitudes are nuanced, and manifested both implicitly and explicitly. Further research on how these attitudes develop and how they are manifested, may provide greater insight into the specific patterns of violence against these women. More specifically, this research would be bolstered by an examination of men's implicit and explicit prejudices. Finally, it was determined that Neosexist attitudes, in particular, are strongly related to men's endorsement of violence towards women in the sex industry. Given the complexity of sexism and the diversity within the sex industry, a more rigorous investigation is necessary to provide more generalizable results. Overall, this study provides only a preliminary understanding of men's attitudes towards women in the sex industry, and their relationship with the risk for violence that women in the sex industry experience. Further research on these women and their experiences with violence is necessary; research on the relationship between men's attitudes and violence against these women is imperative.



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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> There are two separate discourses surrounding the terms “sex work” and “women in the sex industry”, which have been identified as an agent/victim dichotomy (Carpenter, 1998). Although Carpenter’s characterization is problematic in that it suggests that women in the sex industry are exclusively agentic or victimized, it is useful in delineating the primary differences between the two perspectives. From the “agency” perspective sex work is viewed as a legitimate industry through which women and men can find gainful employment (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). Organizations such as COYOTE, which is an acronym for Call off Your Old Tired Ethics, advocate the position that prostitution is a legitimate form of service work, comparable to personal service occupations such as hairdressers and nurses’ aids (Shaver, 1996). This position is frequently presented in the literature under the appellation of “sex work as work”.

The second position, that is the “victim” perspective, posits that “sex work” is a form of violence against women because it is intrinsically traumatizing, and occurs not because it is freely chosen, but primarily from economic necessity (Farley, 2004). Given the occupational risks for personal trauma and physical harm associated with sex work, it is difficult to objectively argue that it is comparable to other jobs in the service industry, given the occupational risks associated with it. In other areas of work there are laws that prevent employers from hiring workers for jobs that unduly threaten their well being, but in the sex industry violence is accepted, and even expected (Gauthier, 2000 as cited in Monto, 2004). Women employed in the sex industry are accustomed to experiencing, on a daily basis, levels of sexual harassment that in any other profession would be unacceptable and legally acted upon (Farley, 2004). Consequently, this study aligns with the perspective that sex work is a form of violence against women.



In the violence against women literature the terms “women in prostitution” and “prostituted women” are used more frequently than the terms “sex work” and “sex workers” as these terms can easily be conflated with the “sex work as work” perspective (Kurtz, Surratt, Inciardi, & Kiley, 2004); however, within both literatures the use of the term prostitute is not always clear. The prostitute label has been used as an umbrella term to describe all women employed in the sex industry, across a variety of venues, including non-therapeutic massage, brothels, escorting, street prostitution and sometimes exotic dancing. However, it has also been used more specifically, usually in reference to women who sell their services on the streets. Though the activities across different areas of the sex industry may be the same, or at least comparable, there are different connotations associated with the women working in these areas. Given that this study emphasizes attitudinal differences towardss women in employed in different areas of the sex industry it would be unclear and inappropriate to use the blanket term prostitute. Thus the term “women in the sex industry” will be used when referring generally to all venues of employment and all women employed in the sex industry.

<sup>2</sup> Both of the Acceptance of Violence Against Women in the Sex Industry questions were intended to be scored as continuous variables. However, the question “In your opinion does the man in the scenario deserve punishment” was accidentally scored as a dichotomous “yes” or “no” question. The scores of both questions should have been multiplied together and used as the dependent variable in the multiple regression analyses. Because dichotomous questions cannot be used as dependent variables, this was not possible, and the question could not be included in the analyses.

Table 1

*Social Desirability Correlations*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Social Desirability	.16	-.14	.01	-.16	-.17	-.13	-.10	-.15	.07

1.	Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry
2.	Hostility Towardss Women
3.	Neosexism
4.	Illinois Rape Myth Scale - Short Version
5.	Acceptance of Rape Myths Regarding Women in the Sex Industry
6.	Semantic Differential Composite for Exotic Dancers
7.	Semantic Differential Composite for Escorts
8.	Semantic Differential Composite for Prostitutes
9.	Semantic Differential Composite for Cocktail Waitresses

Table 2

*Mean ranked scores for profession status*

	Mean
Physician	1.04
Nurse	1.96
Receptionist	3.14
Waitress	4.27
Custodian	4.68
Exotic Dancer	6.35
Escort	6.58
Prostitute	7.99

Note: Inversely coded such that lowest scores denote highest status.

Table 3

*Structure Matrix*

	Function	
	1	2
Semantic Differential	.97	.23
Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry	-.79	.61

Table 4

*Standardized Function Coefficients*

	Function	
	1	2
Semantic Differential	.79	1.02
Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry	-.29	1.26

Table 5

*Rotated Structure Matrix*

	Function	
	1	2
Semantic Differential	.94	-.34
Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry	-.34	.94

Table 6

*Rotated Standardized Function Coefficients*

	Function	
	1	2
Semantic Differential	1.22	.43
Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry	.43	1.22

Table 7

*Functions at Group Centroids*

	Function	
	1	2
Waitress	-.69	.87
Exotic Dancer	-.35	.06
Escort	-.18	-.35
Prostitute	.92	-.34

Table 8

*Endorsement of Violence as Indicated through Severity of Punishment*

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cocktail Waitress	6.40	3.27
Exotic Dancer	6.03	3.22
Escort	5.60	3.38
Prostitute	5.80	3.01



7. Are you presently involved in a romantic relationship?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes

\_\_\_\_\_ No

8. Are you presently involved in a sexual relationship?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes

\_\_\_\_\_ No

9. Approximately how many sexual partners have you had?

\_\_\_\_\_ (enter '0' if you are not sexually active)

9 a) Have you ever been to a strip club (gentleman's club)?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes

\_\_\_\_\_ No

b) If yes, approximately how many times? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Have you ever hired or used the services of an escort?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No

b) If yes, approximately how many times? \_\_\_\_\_

11. Have you ever hired or used the services of a street prostitute?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes

\_\_\_\_\_ No

b) If yes, approximately how many times? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B

### Scenarios

**Condition 1:**

Lyn is 20-year old woman who grew up in a mid-size town in Southwestern Ontario, where she completed a high school degree. She has a boyfriend, but no children and currently works full time as an exotic dancer.

**Condition 2:**

Lyn is 20-year old woman who grew up in a mid-size town in Southwestern Ontario, where she completed a high school degree. She has a boyfriend, but no children and currently works full time as an escort (call girl).

**Condition 3:**

Lyn is 20-year old woman who grew up in a mid-size town in Southwestern Ontario, where she completed a high school degree. She has a boyfriend, but no children and currently works full time on the street as a prostitute.

**Condition 4: (Control)**

Lyn is 20-year old woman who grew up in a mid-size town in Southwestern Ontario, where she completed a high school degree. She has a boyfriend, but no children and currently works full time as a waitress.

**Distractor Scenario:**

Jill is a 30-year old woman who grew up in a mid-size town in Southwestern Ontario, where she completed a high school degree. She is married and has two children. She has a degree in engineering, but has recently decided to become a stay-at-home mom.

### Semantic Differential

Good	_____	Bad
Beautiful	_____	Ugly
Clean	_____	Dirty
Kind	_____	Cruel
Rich	_____	Poor
Honest	_____	Dishonest
Pleasant	_____	Unpleasant
Successful	_____	Unsuccessful
Reputable	_____	Disreputable
Safe	_____	Dangerous
Gentle	_____	Violent
Feminine	_____	Masculine



## Appendix C

### Acceptance of Violence Scenarios

**Condition 1:**

Tim is a 42-year old man from the local area. He sometimes uses the services of exotic dancers. Recently he was charged with assault after Carla, a 30-year old exotic dancer, reported him to the police and evidenced substantial bruising on her arms and chest.

**Condition 2:**

Corey is a 42-year old man from the local area. He sometimes uses the services of escorts. Recently he was charged with assault after Leah, a 30-year old escort, reported him to the police and evidenced substantial bruising on her arms and chest.

**Condition 3:**

Liam is a 42-year old man from the local area. He sometimes uses the services of street prostitutes. Recently he was charged with assault after Tina, a 30-year old prostitute, reported him to the police and evidenced substantial bruising on her arms and chest.

**Condition 4:**

John is a 42-year old man from the local area. He sometimes visits a nearby bar. Recently he was charged with assault after Stacey, a 30-year old woman who works as a cocktail waitress at this bar, reported him to the police and evidenced substantial bruising on her arms and chest.

### Acceptance of Violence Against Women in the Sex Industry

1. In your opinion does the man in the scenario deserve punishment?

Y \_\_\_\_\_

N \_\_\_\_\_

2. If yes, how severe do you think the punishment should be? (please indicate your opinion by circling the appropriate number)

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

(light punishment)

(severe punishment)

## Appendix D

## Beliefs About Women in the Sex Industry

Please indicate your agreement with each of the following statements, as it pertains to the woman in the scenario that you just read.

## 1. Psychologically health

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 2. Uses drugs

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 3. Intelligent

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 4. Productive member of society

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 5. Ambitious

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 6. Sexually abused as a child or teen

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## 7. Physically abused as a child or teen

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

8. Good parent

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

9. High self-esteem

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

10. Teenage runaway

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

11. Successful in relationships

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

12. Reckless

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

13. Have sexually transmitted diseases

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

14. Close relationship with parents

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

15. Feel ashamed of what they do

1	2	3	4	5
(not at all likely)				(very likely)

## Appendix E

## Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability – Short Form

Please answer the following statements according to your personal beliefs. Mark each statement either true or false.

	True	False
1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.	T	F
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my own way.	T	F
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.	T	F
4. There have been a few times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.	T	F
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.	T	F
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.	T	F
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.	T	F
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.	T	F
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.	T	F
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.	T	F
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.	T	F
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.	T	F
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.	T	F

## Appendix F

## The Illinois Rape Myth Scale – Short Form

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements.

1. If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

2. Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real "turn on".

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

3. If a woman is willing to “make out” with a guy, then it’s not big deal if he goes a little further and has sex.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

4. Many women secretly desire to be raped.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

5. Most rapists are not caught by the police.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

6. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

7. Men from nice middle class homes almost never rape.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)



16. A woman who “teases” men deserves anything that might happen.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

17. When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

18. Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

19. A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

20. Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

## Appendix G

## Rape Myths About Women in the Sex Industry

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements.

1. Women in the sex industry cannot be raped.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

2. Violence against women in the sex industry is not a serious problem.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

3. Women in the sex industry deserve the violence that they experience.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

4. All women in the sex industry are much the same.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)



## Appendix H

## Hostility Towards Women

Please circle the answers that best represent your agreement with the following statements.

	True	False
1. I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them	T	F
2. I believe that most women tell the truth.	T	F
3. I usually find myself agreeing with women.	T	F
4. I think that most women would lie just to get ahead.	T	F
5. Generally, it is safer not to trust women.	T	F
6. When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful.	T	F
7. I am easily angered by women.	T	F
8. I am sure I get a raw deal from the women in my life.	T	F
9. Sometimes women bother me by just being around.	T	F
10. Women are responsible for most of my troubles.	T	F

## Appendix I

## Neosexism Scale

1. Discrimination against women in the labour force is no longer a problem in Canada.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

2. I consider the present employment system to be unfair to women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

3. Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

4. Women will make more progress by being patient and not pushing too hard for change.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

5. It is difficult to work for a female boss.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

6. Women's requests in terms of equality between the sexes are simply exaggerated.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

7. Over the past few years, women have gotten more from the government than they deserve.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

8. Universities are wrong to admit women in costly programs such as medicine, when in fact, a large number will leave their jobs after a few years to raise their children.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

9. In order to not appear sexist, many men are inclined to overcompensate women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

10. Due to social pressures, firms frequently have to hire underqualified women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

11. In a fair employment system, men and women would be considered equal.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
(not at all agree) (very much agree)

## Appendix J

## Status of Women in the Sex Industry

Please rank the following professions according to the status associated with them, with the number 1 indicating the profession with highest status and 8 indicating the lowest.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Nurse
- \_\_\_\_\_ Waitress
- \_\_\_\_\_ Exotic Dancer (Stripper)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Receptionist
- \_\_\_\_\_ Custodian
- \_\_\_\_\_ Prostitute
- \_\_\_\_\_ Physician
- \_\_\_\_\_ Escort

## Appendix K

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH****Title of Study: Men's Opinions on Varied Aspects of Women's Experiences and Social Roles.**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dusty Johnstone, under the supervision of Dr. Charlene Senn, from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The study is in fulfilment of Ms. Johnstone's Master's thesis.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact Dusty Johnstone at 253-3000 ext. 4703 or Dr. Charlene Senn at 253-3000 ext. 2255.

**PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to investigate men's thoughts and feelings about a variety of women's roles in society.

**PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

You will be asked to answer questions about your own background and experiences. You will also be asked to provide your opinion on the descriptions of women that are presented to you, in addition you will be asked to complete some questionnaires about various aspects of women's lives and experiences. Completing the entire survey should take you between 45 and 60 minutes.

**POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

There are no serious anticipated risks associated with participating in this study. However, some of the questions regard issues of a sexual nature. If you think you may be offended by questions of a sexual nature please feel free to leave the study now, without signing the consent form. All participants will be provided with a list of community resources. Should you feel any negative emotions because of your participation in this study please feel free to contact the student researcher, Dusty Johnstone.

**POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

Although you will not gain any personal benefits from participating in this study, your participation will help generate a more complete understanding of men's opinions about women's various social roles.

**PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

You will receive one bonus point (or a five dollar gift certificate to Tim Hortons or the University bookstore) for each hour of participation.

**CONFIDENTIALITY**

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Your questionnaire responses are completely confidential and anonymous, as your signed consent will be kept separate from your answers. The completed surveys will be kept in a locked cabinet in a locked office in the Department of Psychology.

#### PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

#### FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE SUBJECTS

Results will be available on the University of Windsor REB website in the Fall of 2007.

#### SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

This data may be used in subsequent studies.

#### RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3916; e-mail: lbunn@uwindsor.ca.

#### SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study "Men's Opinions on Varied Aspects of Women's Experiences and Social Roles" as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

#### SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix L

### Debriefing (Johnstone, 2007)

#### **Men's Opinions on Varied Aspects of Women's Experiences and Social Roles**

Women in the sex industry are those who exchange visual or physical access to their bodies, usually for the specific purpose of generating income. The area of the sex industry that a woman is employed in affects her risk for violence, both in severity and frequency. For instance, women who are in street prostitution are known to be at the highest risk for harm. They are most likely to be victims of physical and sexual assault, rape and murder. Women who are exotic dancers also experience violence regularly, but it typically takes a less severe form and may include such things as pinching, grabbing, slapping and threats of rape.

Women in the sex industry are daughters, girlfriends, sisters and mothers, just like any other woman. They are, however, more likely to live in poverty and to experience hardship in their early lives, than other women. Whatever one's opinion of the legitimacy of the sex industry, these women are people, and as such, deserve full human rights. Women in the sex industry are an understudied population, and even less is known about men's thoughts on these topics. Thus by spending time sharing your opinions, you have made an important contribution to knowledge in this field. Though some men use the services of women in the sex industry, many don't, thus it is useful to study the opinions of both groups of men.

Please take a look at the resource card that has been provided. The resource card has contact information for various community services in case you would like to talk to someone more in depth about this topic.

Thank you very much for your participation.

## Appendix M

## Community Resources

## 1. Sandwich Community Health Centre

Offer free counseling and variety of other services.

For more information contact: [schc@wincom.net](mailto:schc@wincom.net) or call (529) 258-6002

Address: Sandwich P/O Box 7391

Windsor, ON, N9C 4E9

## 2. Distress Centre of Windsor

This is a telephone service that provides anonymous and confidential crisis intervention and emotional support, as well as referrals to other support resources in Windsor and the surrounding areas.

For more information, visit: [www.dcwindsor.com](http://www.dcwindsor.com)

Or to talk, call: (519) 256-6000

## 3. Sexual Assault Crisis Centre of Essex County

Provides 24-hour, anonymous and free crisis support over the telephone. In addition, group and individual counseling is available as well as information on the Criminal Law system and many other services.

For more information visit: [www.sacha.on.ca](http://www.sacha.on.ca)

For the crisis line, call: (519) 253-9667

## 4. Student Counseling Center

Offers free short-term and crisis counseling for students, in addition to offering groups and consultation services. Referrals can be made to other campus services or community agencies.

For more information contact: [scc@uwindsor.ca](mailto:scc@uwindsor.ca)

Or call: (529) 253-3000 extension 4616



## VITA AUCTORIS

Dusty Johnstone was born in 1983 in Newcastle, New Brunswick. She graduated from North and South Esk Regional High School in 2001. From there she went on to Mount Allison University where she obtained a Bachelor of Art (Hons) in Psychology in 2005 .